Reference--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF34 Uro SF24
Aeroapqui

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Cayuya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Ponansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Aeroapqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Carapi. There are only a handful of them, 60 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Bingo (1) and Mr. de Créqui

(Ref continues on p 2)

1. Créqui Montfort (C. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uro ou pukina /The Uro or Pukina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-264; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-190; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 97-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added: McCulloch McBride (C.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5. New York, 1931, p. 27. "There are the Uro that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/Cont./

Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English./

Ogilvie (Alan G.). Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near-by." /Cited in English./

After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

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1:Méraux--3 E-5 (1931) 1935 9F24 Uru 9F24
Ancoaqui

/75 cont./

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Uro entitled: "Los Uros o Uchumi /The Uru or Uchumi/." Actas y trabajos cientificos del XXV° Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932). Vol. I. Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 284-300. This work, very extensive, contains only a small amount of really scientific information on the Uro. It is more an attempt to bring some ethnographic theories into harmony with somewhat romantic archaeological reconstructions. One of the most serious dangers of this article is that it contains some precise details—notably on fishing among the Uro—which are mixed with interpretations and speculations which the author presents as facts noted in the field. Everything in this article concerning the present religion of the Uro is in the realm of fantasy.

In 1933 my friend Mr. E. Palavecino, of the Museum of Natural History in Buenos Aires, made a visit to the Uro on my advice. Some of his observations have been published in the Sunday, December 3, 1933 number of La Prensa under the following title: "Los Indios Uros de Iruito / The Uro Indians of Iruito/."

119 Montes itself, in which all the importance /75/ of the Uro problem is underlined, was not a sufficient factor to stimulate the scholars who during recent years have traversed Bolivia to give the Uro the attention they deserve. Such negligence is even more unpardonable in view of the fact that the geographical location

/84 cont./

384 the Uro are obliged to keep up with an increasing demand. They have veritable maritime shipyards on the steep bank of the Desaguadero, where constant activity reigns (Pl. IV, A /see p. 24/).

384 Each family owns a portion of the bank, whose limits are marked 423 by small walls. Within these enclosures they keep the totora from 424 which the balsas are made. This plant (Cyperaceae, of the genus Scirpus) (Scirpus totora, Kunth.) forms actual fields in the swamps which line the Titicaca. The Indians come to cut it as they need it. "Every family that owns a field near the shore considers itself the owner of a certain expanse of these totoras. It is the only family to exploit this area, and its rights are respected by the neighbors (1)."

[p. 3]

1. Parodi (Lorenzo R.). "Las balsas usadas por los aymaras en el lago Titicaca /The Balsas Used by the Aymaras on Lake Titicaca/." Physis. Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales. Vol. XI (Buenos Aires, 1932). pp. 161-169.

384 It is a picturesque spectacle to see the Indians who went in 424 search of totora return; the cut stalks have been tied together into huge bundles which are allowed to float like a train of wood often being secured to the rear of the balsa (Pl. III, A /see p. 23/).

The totora can be used only when it is dry. Hence, after having gathered it the Indians' first concern is to spread it out in their enclosures. They also make faggots out of it by standing the stalks upright to expose them to the wind and sun. It is only when it has lost all dampness that the totora can be used to construct balsas. Its thickness is thereby diminished, an immediate result prevented, and, above all, the possibility that the bundles which constitute the balsa might disintegrate because of a loss in volume is avoided.

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Aymaqui

a cataclysm which accompanied all of harmony with the conceptions of the Uru. This explains why they speak a different language than the other Indians. Tiahuanaco and its church existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky the church and Tiahuanaco endured." The vestiges of the old myth which Betanzos (1) has preserved for us are recognizable here.

1. Betanzos (Juan Diez de). "Historia de los Incas y Conquista del Peru /History of the Incas and the Conquest of Peru/." Coleccion de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru. (Lima, 1924). Vol. 8. second series, pp. 82-83.

Tuto pa'a ch'atiya tempo tuto runakunaqa'ti
Former times former times people have remained

tiwanakuski ch'ullqiri "runaraju" kan chaynatapacha'ti
people of the others "runaraju" they died on have remained

mayisi ti Tuto kunaqa'ti.
they this language on have.

Digression. In digression and nature the Uru are as unlike as the Aymara. A stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold and slightly hostile reception. To this ill-will is added the unhealthy impurity shown by the Aymara and the Bolivians. besides the dignity and that brightness of spirit which makes the Indian highlander frankly sympathetic. I am not, however, unaware of the causes of the mental atrophy of the Bolivian Indian; the Uru have not escaped the humiliation and exploitation of their Spanish masters, nor that of their ever

Columbian--I F-5 (1930-1932) 18No. 1956 QF24 Uto QF24
Carnegie
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The Uto-Aztecan (1) Indians of Carnegie

113 1. One will find in Cesare Nicolini (C... de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uto de puinia / The Uto or Puinia Language." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. New Series. Vol. XVII. 1925. pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII. 1926. pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX. 1927. pp. 97-114) the complete bibliography and excerpts from all the publications on the Uto-Aztecan which appeared up to 1927. I shall mention here only the articles published after that date in which some information on this curious tribe may be obtained. Beck (Fritz). "Die wenig bekannten Indianerstämme des nordwestlichen Nordmexiko. / A little-known Indian Tribe of the Northern Altiplano." (Zeitschr. für Ethn. Bd. 1929. pp. 12-13 und 54-lich. Text) (Karl). "An expedition to the central Andes 1924 to 1928." (Geographical Review published by the American Geographical Society of New York. April 1929. pp. 274-287). I have made known some of the results of my expedition in various popular articles a list of which follows: Nicolini (Alfredo). "Los Chiripas constituyen un pueblo de antiguo arte? Hacia el fin de los indígenas del Amazonas del altiplano / The Chiripa Caciques a

[illegible]-2 E-4 (1930-1951) 1935, [illegible] SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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[illegible]

People of Ancient Ethnic Date in One of the Most Desolate Regions of the Altiplano/" (La Prensa, Oruro, March 13 and 14, 1935); Id.: "Un manojo perdido. La vida de los Chipayas en Carangas /A Lost World. The Life of the Chipayas of Carangas/" (Rel. Year., No. 3, Buenos Aires, 1935, pp. 98-131); Id.: "Un mundo extra américa pre-histórica en el altiplano Boliviano/ /A Center of Prehistoric America in the Bolivian Altiplano/ (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, August 8, 1931); Id.: "[illegible] Chipayaindianerna på Bolivias högslätt /From a Lost World. the Chipaya Indians on Bolivia's Altiplano/" (Göteborgs [illegible], Saturday, October 3, 1931, pp. 1and 7); Id.: "El Instituto de etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán /The Institute of Ethnology at the National University of Tucuman/" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, Saturday, July 8, 1933, p. 8); Id.: "Chipaya-indianerna. En fotoguide från en [illegible] kultur /The Chipaya Indians. A Remnant from a Past Andean Culture/" (Ymer, Stockholm, 1932, Vol. 2 and 3, pp. 233-272)

2:Méraux--6 8-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Cipaya

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The Tribe and Its Environment

[31] [101] Location of the Cipaya. The Cipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

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1. In order to determine the exact location of the Cipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

2:566trans--7 E-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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●113 V. Hoot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

133 361 The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 20 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacho, the first spur of the Cordilleras to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not stand on the banks of the Barras River as Chipaya is shown on the map of the Crégui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time as the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was possibly filled with water.

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Archivo--B F-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9F24 Uru 9F24
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Chipaya

/114 cont./

116 possibly filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map, undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Ucara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Crégui Montfort Mission as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

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1. Bacarreza (Zenón). "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor.... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/." Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910. La Paz, 1910. pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/." p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385 individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Chipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle, who was the first writer to mention the existence of the Chipaya, estimated their

2. Uhle (Max). "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/." Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI. 1894. pp. 328-332.

/328 cont./

addressed soely to her person. The homage rendered her is associated with the festivals celebrated in honor of demons, sacred stones (samiri), and San Jerónimo.

It is for the Pača-mama that candies are put in the hollow at the foot of the effigy of the demon "to sweeten her," and for her also plants thrust into a lump of tallow are buried and animals molded in tallow offered, no doubt, to the demons.

The mal'ku. The Aymara word mal'ku, which in Bertonio's dictionary (1) is translated "chief," "señor de Vassallos /lord of

1. Bertonio (F. Ludovico).
Vocabulario de la lengua aymará
/Vocabulary of The Aymara
Language/ (Reissued by F. Platzmann).
Second part. Leipzig, 1879. p. 220.

vassals/," has a more extended meaning today and expresses a notion of a religious order. In the Aymara texts which constitute the oral ritual of the Čipaya, the qualifier or title of mal'ku is bestowed upon the Earth-mother, the Lauca River, certain mountain peaks, and the church tower. This same word is joined to diverse proper names borne by some curious monuments that the Čipaya hold in great veneration. These are cones of earth from 1.20 to 1.70 meters high, nine of which stand around the village within a radius of five to 15 kilometers. They are constructed like the Čipaya houses of champas, i.e. clods cut out of the soil and placed in such a way as to form a compact mass which is covered with a whitish coating (Pl. XI, A /see p. 132/). All these monuments have a small cellar at their base carefully closed with a plug of earth; the Indians bury the offerings they make to the demon of the place there. On one of the cones a niche oriented toward the east replaced /329/ the cellar. These monuments are sometimes supported by an oval platform about one meter high. Beside the cone, which occupies the central part of the platform,

2:Métraux--41 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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Chipaya
Modern Quechua SE24

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the "mallkos or mummies of their pagan ancestors." Before repairing the irrigation canals "the people go to the communal house where the officials are in order to learn from their mouths the prognostications transmitted by the mallkos." "Near the lagoon of Pokle there is a large, rounded rock, which they call the Mallko of the potato. The officials and the old men dance around this rock, chanting in Keshwa /Quechua/." In the first examples the word mal'ku seems to be synonymous with malqui, bodies of ancestors. "After the stone Huacas," Arriaga (2) tells us, "their greatest object

2. Arriaga. Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru /Extirpation of the Idolatry of Peru/. p. 14.

of veneration and adoration are the malquis, which are called Munaos on the plain; these are the bones or the entire bodies of pagan ancestors, whom they call sons of Huacas; they keep them in the fields in secluded places and in the Machay, which are their ancient tombs; sometimes they adorn them with very precious tunics and with plumes of various colors or with cumbis." As at Huarochirí mallko is, it appears, the native name for mummies; it may be assumed that it is a dialectal form of the word malqui, which has the same meaning. As for the mallko rock, it is identical with the ancient konopa and comes close to our sacred cones and the samiri which we will discuss later. It is evident that in this case the word mallko corresponds fairly exactly with its Aymara and Čipaya homonym.

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Rigoberto Paredes' book (3) on religious survivals in Bolivia

3. Paredes (Rigoberto). Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia /Bolivian Myths, Superstitions, and Popular Survivals/. La Paz, 1920, pp. 53-56.

/332 cont./

*1978 191 contains several allusions to mai'ku, which the author confused with the Wasa mai'ku which was under consideration above. "If the Indians slaughter a sheep, a llama, or an ox, they sprinkle the fronton, or the triangular extremity of the main wall of their house, in homage to the mai'ku, who, being assured that he has not been forgotten, favors this hearth in thanks for the offering." Here it is a question of the worship of the household mai'ku, which I have already mentioned. The same folklorist describes some ceremonies performed in honor of a mai'ku, i.e., a doll which the Indians attach to the end of a pole and to which they make blood sacrifices. "This effigy can sometimes be a decorated doll /333/ and at other times a carved stone, a plaster image, or a stick wrapped in colored rags."

*1978 194 In contrast to the word mai'ku itself, the idea which it expresses is familiar to all those who have been occupied with the ethnography of ancient Peru. I could give many examples to demonstrate that the Čipaya mai'ku are nothing other than huaca, whose nature, form, and number were so often mentioned by the old chroniclers. As their descriptions have been compiled by numerous modern authors dealing with Peruvian religion, I think it unnecessary to cite in my turn these well-known passages (1).

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1. See among others Rjon y Caamaño (J). La religión del Imperio de los Incas /The Religion of the Inca Empire/. Vol. I. "Los fundamentos del culto. Huacas, conopas, apachitas, urcos, huancas, machais /The Foundations of the Cult. Huacas, Conopas, Apachitas, Urcos, Huancas, Machais/." Quito, 1949; Latcham (Ricardo E.). Las creencias religiosas de los antiquos Peruanos /The Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Peruvians/. Santiago, Chile, 1929, pp. 51-55.

2:Métraux--55 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
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*796 /341 cont./ in Paredes 2) The pages which he quotes To
554 1. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it.
*796 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are
554 often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help.
426 This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 During the Chipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came
431 to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the
*796 world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador
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● [113]

3. Rivet (Paul), "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives.

2:Mbraus--122 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF26 Uru SF26
Caranqui-
Ch. Jaya

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The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves[1] with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chiflas, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small bales, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the [113] treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

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1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris. New Series. Vol. IV. 1907. pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

[i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

2/Mdrass--160 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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the summit. This incline need only be accentuated to create the conical hut of the second type entirely made of clods.

The wall facings are plastered on the outside and inside with a thin layer of earth which conceals the irregularities of the surface.

The door. The opening (*ñan*) of the door (*t'aoke*) which is always framed with a white band is generally larger below than above and its angles are rounded. It does not open at ground level but on a threshold about 30 centimeters high. The door itself is situated inside the habitation. It is made of laths of Cereus joined by leather thongs and by crosspieces, and is articulated by means of two pivots, one of which, the upper one, is stuck into a piece of perforated wood (Fig. 1, C-D *here p. 142/*).

Figure 1 $\frac{3}{6}$ E to G gives an idea of the ingenious peg lock of the Cipaya and its functioning. It is carved of Cereus wood and is of a type identical with that of the Aymara, who copied it from the old rural Spanish locks (1).

1. On this subject see Cessac (A., 1911). "Études d'ethnographie sud-américaine /Studies of South American Ethnography/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. New Series. Vol. XI, 1914. pp. 121-133.

The roof. The straw dome (*p'ensa*) which covers the Cipaya hut of the first type is complicated and ingenious in construction and certainly represents the most delicate work which these natives undertake. When the walls of the hut are two meters above ground, two rows of clods larger than the others and with perpendicular joints are placed on top. The upper ones are provided with orifices intended to receive the ends of the arches which support the straw cupola. The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots

[See pp 142-143 -- ed/sf]

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, G /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
237 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (sup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from consideration:
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
175 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

● [113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illustrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SI'24 Uru SI'24
Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SI'5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/, La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/," Congrès international des Américanistes: Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one, and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

[i.e., The TOXO -- Analyst]

2Méveaux--139 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 M126 Uni M126
Caraguay-
Cajatambo

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yahol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Monnell's thesis (2), which

[113]

2. Monnell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII. 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg, 1929. pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[394] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113]

3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893. Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

D.Mexico--169 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 1926 Uru 1926
Chipaya

/178 cont./

1. Boman (Eric von), Archéologique researches on the Sources of Argentine and Bolivia in 1901-1907. Stockholm, 1906. Pl. III. Fig. 1.

Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

/179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoraqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the coca sacks which are widespread among the Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are themselves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

Smithsonian--471 E-5 (1890-1891) 1891, 1908 SFSN Uns SFSN

Cayapa
Chipaya

(180 cards)

Musical Instruments

The musical instruments that I got among the Cipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant in the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Chipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II, entry 2a., 1938.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common in the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, a [see p. 173]). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards nailed together with pegs, are about 30 centimeters long and six to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

I was able to acquire a round drum in Cipaya (Fig. 8, b). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uro SF24
Cayanga:-
Chipaya

/(83 cont./

In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/, [illegible] d'Harcourt repeoduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the Chipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, C /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to now are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The Chipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these prized instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Chipaya dialect, tëks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

While there are very few Chipaya who know how to play the panpipe, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The players accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

Smithsonian--182 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1932 SF26 Live 0F26

Cayapas-
Chachi

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday)."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ wood of the
Cupoja corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez
(Dr. Pastor). "Las Varayocc."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco,
eighth year, No. 29, September,
1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	-	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Live-stock care	+	-	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

/192 cont./

seems inexplicable that precisely the funerary towers would have survived, whereas the towers themselves have disappeared without leaving a trace. How could it happen that a people capable of building such remarkable and lasting buildings as the chullpas would not have left a single village behind? Chipaya gives us the key to the problem: the ancient Aymara huts were undoubtedly made of clods, a perishable substance which time has made disappear down to the last vestige. Although the Cipaya have occupied their present habitat since remote times, one cannot find any ancient ruin among them. It is enough that a hut be abandoned for there to be nothing left of it at the end of a few years.

One word more on the distribution of the round hut: this form was formerly much more widespread in the western part of South America than it is in our day. The Relaciones geográficas (1)

1. Azuay Province. Vol. I. p. 89; Huamanga Province (San Juan de la Frontera). Vol. I. p. 97; Repartimiento /fief/ of Atunsaya. Vol. I. p. 176; Collao. Vol. II. p. 82; Corregimiento /district/ of Otavalo (Equator). Vol. III. p. 116; District of Cuenca (Equator). Vol. III. pp. 164 and 176; Region of Quito. Vol. III. p. 94; Region of Chuquimayo. Vol. IV. p. 11; etc., etc.

makes allusions all the time to round houses in regions where they no longer exist.

/193/ The Quichua Indians of Cochabamba in the middle of the last century still had round huts made entirely of earth and stone with dome-shaped roofing. One of them has been reproduced and described by Herndon and Gibbon (1): "The ancient habitations

DAMérica--IHI E-5 (1870-1952) 1935, 1936 MFin Uru MFin
Cayapa-Cáspicara
Ayora, Luis

/the cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any tower having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and sins were long and square and the wood was brought from the Tingas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Marcoll, Dress and ornament, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The ayllus of the Cipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called ayllus, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Cipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Icara, in the chullpares, I found bolas coiled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

[illegible]

[illegible]

Cayapa

[illegible]

Clothing. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (ca) worn by the Cayapa.[1] This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the slopes of the Upper Amazon (Bracamoros) are, with the Cayapa, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (camiseta) constantly recurs in the answers of the first questions. Among the Ura the ca has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the camiseta is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Cinguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Means, Peru and Ornaments, pp. 193-201; for the cape, ibid., pp. 260-262.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the poncho in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian Sierra (2).

2. Alvarez (Angélica). "Anderocoschua." Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Tabar Palacio (Luis). "El Ayllu de Oquenos (Paucartambo), Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

Smithsonian—IBE E-6 (1000-931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas
Chipaya

[illegible] of the originate division of the hair on the skull (1)."

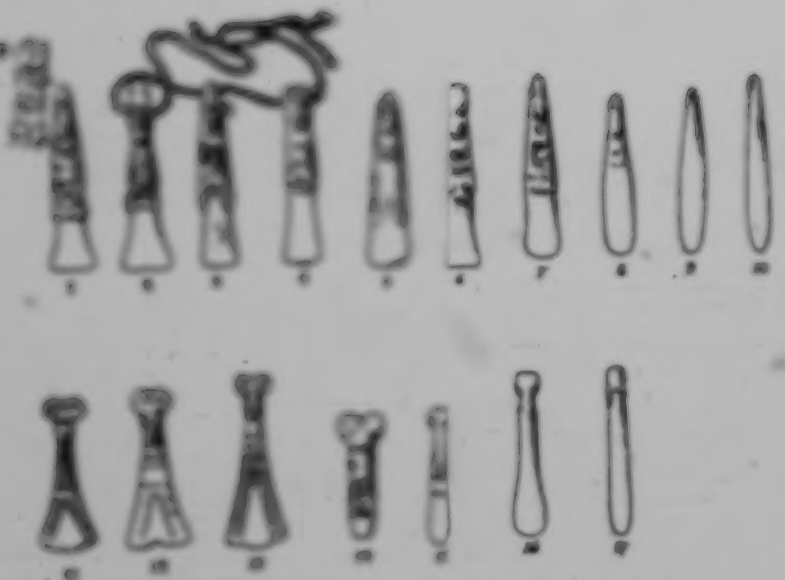

Fig. 16. – Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 14 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

1. Alvarez (Angélica). "Arqueología." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco. 15th year. No. 47. 1925, p. 18.

Pendants identical to the Čipaya laurake have been found in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage --Ananos]

2:Méxaco--201 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Dre SF24
Caracas—
Chipaya

/200 cont./

it was indispensable to the Quechua women to hold back their flowing hair.

/201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I, Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Choroti, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiete in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Yaghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann

Zo66urnau--202 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/201 cont./

Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Chorote, the Ashluslay, and the Matacо are made from the hair of animals. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent.

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is saxrama.

The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /202/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Čipaya. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to it: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

1. Izikowitz (K. G.), "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

/202 cont./

*171 412 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer exactly like that which the Čipaya use to crush straw for making rope. The Uro of Ancoaqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer *171 114 412 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld; he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World. In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. I, p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely incapable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand. It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found one or two specimens among the Čipaya, who have remained much more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 415 [552] The ethnography of the Čipaya perhaps explains the original function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

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3. On the distribution of these basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and Verneau (René), Ethnographie ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient ethnography of the Equator/, Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

/202 cont./

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415
[113]

and Doering (Heinrich),
Kunstgeschichte des alten Peru
/Art History of Old Peru/,
Berlin, 1924, Pls. 99-101.

[533] perpendicular rims, whose external circumference is often decorated with carving in relief. The shape and the stone in which they were often carved (serpentine) seems to exclude the possibility that they could have been used to grind any substance therein. In dimension and appearance they greatly recall the small vessels, also of stone, /203/ in which the Čipaya women husk quinua by treading on it. I am inclined to think that this was also the way in which these so-called circular mortars were also used.

*[171] 286 Weaving. The Čipaya method which consists of attaching the loom to the belt instead of fastening it to two stakes as is [533] customary elsewhere on the altiplano is also a survival of pre-Columbian times (1). On a lecythus of Trujillo, often reproduced,

[113]

1. This custom is not, however, general. Ronald L. Olson, "Old Empires of the Andes," Natural History, New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931, No. 1, p. 11, publishes the photograph of a woman of Marcamachay whose loom is fastened to the waist, and he informs us that the weavers of the equatorial altiplano still follow the same method.

where one sees some women in the act of weaving, one notices that they have their loom attached to the waist, passed around the body by means of a band covered with geometric designs (2). This

/203 cont./

*171 286 2. Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 85, p. 185.

method of stretching the warp is certainly an old process antecedent to that which is used today in Peru and Bolivia. Was it general in the pre-Columbian period? This is what I am inclined to believe without daring to assert it. It is very possible that the idea of planting two stakes to receive the posterior part of the material might be an innovation introduced during the centuries which followed the Conquest.

[415] The coca bags which the Čipaya Indians carry during certain festivals are covered with long hairs slipped between the threads of the material. This technique recalls that of the velvet which was known in ancient Peru, where it appeared on caps or headbands coming from the Ica region. In Santiago, Chile I had the occasion to see several headdresses found in the Atacama zone, the material of which was halfway between plush and velvet.

*171 285 Baskery. I do not know any basket of ancient Peru which resembles those of the Čipaya, yet their coiling technique is not only typical for the whole Andean zone but is certainly very old there. This technique, with different modalities, is still observable in Aymara and Uro baskets and, curiously enough, has survived in Tucumán Province in Argentina.

*171 415 Mugs. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian origin of the mugs known under the name kxeru (3). The Indians

● [113] 3. On the pre-Columbian kxeru, cf. A. Posnansky, "Leyendas prehispánicas sobre dos 'kerus' /Pre-Spanish Inscriptions on Two 'kerus'/," Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 12, 1931, pp. 93-180, and

2:Métraux--206 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/203 cont./

#171
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[113]

Erland Nordenskiöld, "Origin of the Indian Civilizations in South America," Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 9, Göteborg, 1931.

of Cuzco Department /204/ still preserve several specimens which have been passed from father to son since the Inca period. Like the Čipaya the Quichua surround these pieces with superstitious respect and only use them to make libations of chicha on the occasion of some solemn festival. They believe that chicha drunk from one of these mugs has the virtue of making one drunk more quickly than that which is contained in another vessel (1).

[203]

1. Herrera, p. 1.

Conclusion

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The review we have just made of all the Čipaya culture traits leads us to the following conclusion: there is no object in the present-day industry of these Indians which could be considered as belonging to them alone or as representing a survival of their distant original culture. All their material goods are those which we know from the modern or ancient Aymara, or in a general way from the Indians of the Andean altiplano. In their way of life, that of sedentary shepherds, the Čipaya do not differ from the primitive populations of "las regiones frias /the cold regions/," whom the Spanish chroniclers sometimes distinguish from the "serranos /highlanders/." The interest in the Čipaya tribe does not lie then in the originality of their material culture but rather in the fact that their relative isolation has permitted them to keep many an object and many a technique which have disappeared elsewhere. They concern us insofar as they bear witness to rural Inca life, and not as representatives of an isolated ethnic group.

3:Vellard--27 D,E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/189 cont./

*539 184 experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

*539 181 184 [177] [178] Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Keŝwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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3:Vellard--28 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/189 cont./

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/190 cont./

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3:Vellard--50 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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144 The Uru belong to the old American Lagoa Santa dolichocephalic base with an elevated skull. It is however more difficult to include them in one of Imbelloni's two groups, Láguido or Fuéguido, as /209/ this author has moreover emphasized. If on the one hand, as he indicates, "the Uru faithfully reproduce the Láguido race as far as the neural skull is concerned" because of their pronounced dolichocephaly, the height of the vault of the skull, and the brainpan formed like a roof with marked lophos /crest/, they approach the Fuéguido type, in contrast, through the height of the face, the height of the nose, leptorrhinism, and leptomarphic characteristics foreign to true Láguidos.

These mixed characteristics place the Uru between the true Melanesian Láguidos and the Australoid Fuéguidos.

To what extent could this be due to a possible crossbreeding of an originally Láguido type with elements of another origin, perhaps Fuéguido, as Imbelloni seems inclined to believe? Or is it, on the contrary, a question of a certain variability of the Melanesian-Láguido type?

These problems present themselves not only with regard to the Uru, but also for other dolichocephalic American peoples. They underline the significance of study of the last dolichocephalic groups of the continent before their complete extinction.

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3:Vellard--51 D.E-5 (1938-1946) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/209 cont./

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[For bibliographical references to Spanish accounts from the 16th and 17th centuries containing some ethnographic information on the Uru, see category 116, pp. 1-16.]

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Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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of information: "the Incas refused to teach them the sun-worship, being content to receive a tribute of fish and baskets", and elsewhere it is said that either from a hygienic standpoint, or to occupy their leisure moments, the Incas demanded yearly a reed filled with lice. Threehundred and fifty years later, the situation has remained unchanged. Their secret mythology, which Professor VELLARD has studied, is extremely nebulous and confused. The Uru consider themselves to be the first race of per-humans whose blood is not red. They had long legs, long heads and they never suffered from the cold or damp of the lake. There followed successive creations intermingled with cataclysms, far from the sun's rays, and a deluge; among all the peoples only the Uru, the Kaote-ake, the People of the Lake, survived, but subsequently other races appeared, the Woose-ake, who cultivated the earth and were their enemies, and who vanquished them.

The Uru appear from earliest times to have been an accursed race, an unfortunate people forever oppressed, taking refuge in a form of passive hostility. „They are brute beasts", remarks Father ACOSTA in

[13] [1]) See Review in the corresponding section of this issue.
[2]) See also: VELLARD, JEHAN: *Dieux et Parias des Andes, Les Ouros*. Paris, Editions Emile-Paul, 1954.

[p. 303-C]

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more reliable authorities have dated Tiahuanaco about the ninth century; thanks to the recent Cu investigations, we shall doubtless in the near future be able to obtain precise information on the subject. The site appears to date from two periods; the ponderous and primitive monoliths have little relation with the finely sculptured "Gate of the Sun".

It is conceivable that at the period of its construction Tiahuanaco was considerably nearer the lakeside than at the present day, but in many cases lakes have been known to shrink in a remarkably short space of time. The lake of Guascache in upper Argentina, now very small, was within living memory a large navigable extense of water. There is in the church of Tiahuanaco village an early colonial painting showing a boat skirting the edge of the lake beneath willow-trees, with a wooded background; at present there is not a tree in the landscape. It is possible that the climate of the region may have suffered certain modifications. "Practically nothing is known of the Aymara Empire, except that it extended over a considerable territory as far as Northern Argentina and down to Arica on the Peruvian coast. Certain place-names are of Aymara origin and their well-shaped, finely decorated vases are found in Ecuador and as far north as Central America. The conventional geometric style of decoration gives the impression of a people organized and disciplined, but the only important relic of the past is their language, very rich in technical terms, suitable for the expression of abstract ideas, clear and concise, a language which denotes a long evolution towards a high standard of civilization" [1]). When the Incas arrived with their Quechua followers from the region of Urubamba about the eleventh century, they conquered the country, but the Aymara population remained, retaining their language, their customs and their distinctive physique.

We stop for a moment at the village church which

[1]) Beuchat, Louis: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*. Paris, 1928.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 309-A]

[p. 309-B]

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In summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geograficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Notices the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 20, 1880) pp. 242-248. Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806-17), pp. 2, 349-350. Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281-338, 1871), p. 305. J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223–224. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39–75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417–424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357–360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

3. There is as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquina-Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numerical systems:[6]

English	*Quechua*	*Aymará*	*Puquina*	*Uru*
One	huc	maya	pesc	ñi
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	šek
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'muku
Six	soccta	suxta	chichun	tazuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	jatunka	checa	sna'Go
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (thi; pinke; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacmucu; pacchui; tahoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *kubina*, *pubina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

[6] Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Race*s, p. 221; Aymará from my own field notes, Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hoaq'o-hoaq'o* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymará and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancasqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya du Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111-120, 325-415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155-207, 337-396; idem, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 29) pp. 75-110; idem, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67-102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (American Anthropologist 12: 417-24, 1910), pp. 412-413.

9:La Barre E-4.5 (1938) 1941
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[101] calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "Uropeillos" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru, but Chamberlain's "Urimayo" is the name of a moiety, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchucunti* Big-lipped [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Tarasare*, but Monti says their Quechua designation is *Uruculla*. Paredes [139] says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chuvumumukhuvi*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *lauka-mang'ori*, lit. "water-kaloko-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potamogeton*, *Cinnophora*, *Elodea*, [93] and *Chara*] or "Chanco." The tradition was that their ancestors were [116] brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacquilla, but the Aymára say that the "*wakachile*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Nevro-Lemaire[a] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

[101] Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, [109] Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "*Ñuru*" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[a] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "*uri*" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "*uro*" or "*uru*" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De [157] indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Urus* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[163] [179]

[a] Nevro-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, LII–LXI; this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uro-uro." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropología y Sociología de las Razas Sudamericanas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 98; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, 3rd (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 Facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1879] vol. 2, p. 301; Ramiro Muñoz, *Diccionario Quechua* (Tacna, 1942); Rigoberto [illegible], *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1930), p. [illegible].

[a] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux [1942 2]: 366 ff.

9:La Barre E-6.3 (1936) 1941
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[illegible] sympathetic. Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Yo nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento." Pareden calls them "brutish . . . despicable, de poco entendimiento, ingenio y sabiduria." The Belgian traveller Wuthe says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression. It betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. Lo vio jamás contar a los labios de su cara inexpresiva, sin la menor sonrisa, tornado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes, acurrucados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Uros es el de un pueblo quebrantado.

Mitrovic pedestaled their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius so sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this thrill is added the unhealthy capacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the altiplano Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymara, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group. In my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . neither more vivacious and handsome than the Aymara."[3]

History. Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymara. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states these on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymara, Inca, and Spanish.

Language. I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The other independ-

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[3] J. de Acosta, *Historia de los Indios* (1590), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Wuthe, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 99. Mitrovic (JSAP 27), p. 49; (28), p. 20.

9 La Barre E-6.5 [1938] 1961
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chus of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,* a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, l, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable me to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 488), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, e.g. *chuhuru-hacha* (shoe), from *chuhuru* (what is covered), and *hacha*, (foot)." The number of Uros words, whose etymology is known to, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The numerical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3, then 4, 5, 6, 10, respectively, *pia-pia*, *pallmaca*, *paichui*, [illegible] which a common first element *pas* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tahaca*, *cahuaca*, *tantaca* (also *tandaca*) seem to have a common terminal *-ca*; *hala*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *halaui*, *hala-pia-pia*, *hala-chup*, etc.; 100 is *hala-hala* (also *pas*); and 1000 could be expressed by *hala-pas*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uros language are the following:

-ni, in names of male relatives, etc. (*papi*, father; *nahuni*, son; *chi-hualui*, brother, etc.)

-hi, in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achi-chi*, grandmother; *mauchi*, daughter; *achahuyuchi*, girl).

-ni, in certain adjectives (*chuhuru*, green; *chuhuni*, old).

-ri, a frequent termination in nouns (*cauri*, spring; *mauhui*, cigar; *chauri*, cross; *lauri*, spoon; *tauri*, mattock; *putui*, ship; *chapuiri*, kettle; *chiri*, mouse; *mauri*, water; *pauri*, bridge).

Among the suffixes of the infinitive are: -ni, -nna, -nni, -qua, -chi, -i, -ini, -li, -ri, -qui, -ti, -u, -ui, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ama-*, used as a prefix (e.g. *ama-chumi*, "ugly," i.e. "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with tenses (e.g. *ama-hun-hichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, e.g., *hala-wanhiqui*, "does thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *hali*, "to eat", *can*, "thou", and *hiqui*, "to desire." The Uros language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

* Polo, in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 483-492, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Mitrani' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas, Raoul de la Grasserie's "Paquinas" is not unequivocally identifiable with Uru; and Alonso de Barcena's *Lexica et Preceptis in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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(Aymára rectangular houses are *ičú*-grass thatched, not matted in the Uru fashion). Possibly because of the scarcity of wood, "rafters" in the roof are made of thick bundles of reeds, the main supports laid east and west, with secondary supports arched north and south. Some of the round houses have a roof framework made of bent sticks laid at right angles and grass-rope lashed at their crossings. On this framework of wood or *totora*-bundles large mats, employing the full lengths of these giant reeds, are laid in two sections, so that there is a sort of pseudo-ridge to the roof, running from over the door to the west wall; this ridge is made by the meeting of the butts of the reeds. Grass ropes are laid over these mats to hold them down in the wind, and tied to wooden pegs in the mud walls of the house. There is no smoke-hole save the door, so the roof mats become speedily coated with soot and are quite waterproof. One must stoop in entering the door, but a man can stand upright in the center of the house. A mud "stove" is placed to the right (north) of the door, in which *t'ola* (a kind of grease-brush), *yareta* (woody, turf-like masses of a semi-subterranean shrub), or *takia* (llama-dung) are burned for fuel, owing to the absence of wood in the region. The cord used on the roof-mats to twine the ends of the single reed elements, is true two-element twisted rope, the torque of the twisted strands of wiry grass holding the whole together. The rope used in binding *balsas*, on the other hand, is of tightly plaited grass, possibly because the more laboriously made plaited grass rope has greater strength and durability than the twisted kind.

Anciently, according to the 18th century writer Alcedo, the Uru lived in caves and holes in the ground, but they share the round type of house with their congeners the Chipaya. The same round house type is seen elsewhere scatteredly in the *altiplano*. Forbes noted "beehive" houses in out-of-the-way places, and in the 16th and 17th century descriptions such as that of Cobo are indications that the round hut was the original Aymára style. Métraux noted round mud houses with corbelled domes like those of the Chipaya, at Kxulliri, near Toledo; and villages of round houses may be seen the west of the railroad halfway between La Paz and Oruro.[15]

[15] David Forbes, *On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru* (Journal Ethnological Society of London, Vol. 2: 193–305, 1870), p. 255. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 69, also says the Uru formerly lived in caves or holes dug in the ground, and roofed with mats. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Sevilla, 1895), Vol. 4: pp. 166–667. Métraux (JSAP 28: 190–194) says that the rectangular huts of the Aymára are built after Spanish patterns, and that only the chiefs at Chipaya used them, others building the older round type of house. The round style is useless, however, for tracing the provenience of the Uru: Braun noted Quechua storehouses of this kind in southwestern Bolivia, Nordenskiöld the same form among Aymára at Tunari, near Cochabamba (Otto Braun [Letter to Nordenskiöld in 1931]; Erland Nordenskiöld, *The*

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Another house type, beyond the rectangular-thatched and round-matted forms, is that to be found in several examples on the plain just to the north of Ancoaqui. These have a rectangular ground-plan, and instead of being thatched with grass or *totora*-mats, have a pyramidal "dome" corbelled of the same turfs that the walls are made. One of these photographed was on a slight artificial elevation, and had a shallow "moat" around it, possibly to provide dryness and drainage during the long rainy season. Another has two doors, both east and south, suggesting that shepherds might watch their llamas from these tiny huts, which are too small for family habitation; one of them has a chimney-hole in the roof.

Posnansky[19] says the Uru of Sojopaca built temporary shelters, apparently of mud, "like beavers," and figures a carefully domed *puluku* on the islet of Simillaque, as well as a round, stone-roofed house on the Isle of Panza. Uru round houses at Ancoaqui have vertical walls, but some of those of the Chipaya (Posnansky, Figs. 39 and 56) are battened inward, like truncated domes. On islands in the Desaguadero swamps I noticed temporary shelters of *totora* shaped like an old-fashioned straw beehive with a point, erected to shelter the *balsa*-builders.

Food. The Uru have repeatedly been referred to as being chiefly fishermen, but fish are by no means exclusively their diet. Their linguistic congeners to the south, the Chipaya, are chiefly pastoral, and the Uru likewise have pigs, donkeys, some few chickens, sheep, and cows, but no llamas or alpacas. Of the cows Métraux writes:

> those on the border of the Desaguadero [have] become amphibian. They pass the whole day in the water browsing on aquatic plants. From a distance one would take them for buffalo in some Balkan marsh.

These half-wild creatures are so "pastured" because of the acute lack of land among the Uru, whose agriculture,[20] for the same reason, is thus greatly circumscribed. The Uru have dogs, which they call *paku*. Like the Aymára, and most *altiplano* Indians, the Uru keep domesticated guinea-pigs in their houses. Pigs wander about the village also, but are sometimes placed in

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Ethnography of South America seen from the Mojos of Bolivia (Comparative Ethnographic Studies 3, Göteberg, 1924), p. 19; see also Bernabé Cobo, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Vol. 2: p. 62; Huaman Poma de Ayala, in Montell, *Dress and Ornaments*, p. 188, Fig. 86 (in Métraux *loc. cit.*).

[19] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 108 and Figures 104, 111.

[20] George McCutchen McBride, *The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia* (American Geographic Society, Research Series 5, New York, 1921), p. 18, says the Uru "form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them."

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396 knives on the ends of poles, then stacked in shocks like corn, after they have been dried spread out in the sun. Nearly all able-bodied Uru males have quantities of these materials in various stages toward the manufacture of the complete boats. In their houses, even, in spare moments, men are continually braiding *ičʉ*-grass into tough ropes to bind the boats together.

Though shaped like a boat, the *balsa* is of course actually a raft. A handful of reeds is bound together and repeatedly thickened with more reeds as the middle of the cigar-shaped element is reached, then tapered off again into a point. The only tool used in the manufacture of this is a wooden hook [413] (*kaχlu*) with a handle at an acute angle to it, used to tighten the lashing of grass rope. A more tubular and thinner sheaf of reeds forms the keel of the *balsa*, and two of the fat cigar-shaped bundles are separately lashed to it, forming a sort of sea-sled type of hull, which cannot be overturned in a storm; the thinner ends of these cigar-shaped bundles are slightly raised fore and aft of the boat. To form gunwales, a still thinner and tubular sheaf of reeds is lashed (during its own round-and-round binding with braided grass rope) through the original lashing of the hull-elements. One of these gunwales (*pinča*) is placed on each side of the top of the hull-elements to prevent splashing of water onto the occupants of the boat as it is poled along. The Uru *balsa* thus differs from the Aymára[24] type in that its two large basic elements are lashed to a central "keel" and not to each other (though the bulwark lacings are similarly looped through the lacings of the two hull-elements); it has therefore five instead of four elements. The Uru also rig their *totora*-mat sails with a slight difference from the Aymára. Sails, however, can only be used on the Lake and on the open river "before the wind" since the boat has no center-board and cannot tack. In the narrow swampways a punt pole or gaff (*teksi*) with a stubby trident at its end is used to push the boat along. The wood for these comes from the *yungas* of the Cordillera Real's eastern, tropical slopes. (See Posnansky, Fig. 83.) A complete *balsa* cost in 1937 from ten to sixteen *bolivianos*, then worth about 5¢.

Of Uru textiles we have already noted twined single-element *totora balsa*-sails, twined many-element mattress-mats of reed, fish- and bird-nets (which they themselves make of cord obtained in Guaqui from La Paz), and single-element twined roof mats of *totora*. Métraux has an excellent description (page 86) of the preparation by soaking, pounding, and rolling of the wiry grasses of the region (*Stipa ichu*, *Festucha orthophylla*, and *F. dis-*

[24] Lorenzo R. Parodi, *Las balsas usadas por los Aymaras en el lago Titicaca* (Physis, Revista de la Sociedad argentina de ciencias naturales, Vol. 11, Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 145–149. Métraux' description (JSAP 27: 84) is of the Aymára type.

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siflora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *balsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čawara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawaṇs*) llama-wool (*qauñi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wač'[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[25] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *k'oñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[25] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.